

LIBERALISM

DEVELOPMENT REPORT



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LIBERALISM DEVELOPMENT REPORT

A STUDY OF THE EUROPEAN LIBERAL FORUM
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INTRODUCTION

Is liberalism really on the decline? In the current wave of populist players in Western Europe and the United States, and “illiberal” tendencies on the rise, there is a general assumption that liberalism is on the collapse.

The demise of liberalism has practically become a commonplace in contemporary political discourses. But this study of the European Liberal Forum, in partnership with the Political Capital Institute, paints a different picture – at least on the European scene. It is not only that liberal parties are performing relatively well on elections in several countries and the ALDE Group has more seats in the European parliament than in the previous cycle, but liberal attitudes seem to be widespread in Europe.

The goal of this study is to measure the attitudinal demand for liberal policies in European countries. The results can be rather encouraging for some liberal players in the sense that the group of voters who share liberal attitudes is, in several countries, bigger, than the current electorate of liberal parties. Targeting these voters is a challenge of course, and in the current wave of negative sentiment, it might become even more challenging. Furthermore, there is an attempt by the rising populist right forces in Europe to distort and appropriate the notion of Freedom and Liberty, and use these notions to spread xenophobic and law and order responses – “in defence of freedom”. But we can see that even in countries where liberalism can have negative connotations and where the demand is low (e.g. in Central Eastern Europe), some players can be pretty successful in overcoming the barriers.

This study, giving a better understanding of the voters’ liberal attitudes in Europe, might help in the challenging work of keeping the existing liberal voters and reach out to new ones. This study is mainly written for politicians, journalists, and experts who are interested in spreading liberal values and policies.



Dr Jürgen Martens MP
President, European Liberal Forum

KEY FINDINGS

The most important findings of our researches are the following:

NO DECLINE OF LIBERALISM. Contrary to the “common sense”, or rather commonplaces, neither liberal parties, nor liberal attitudes are generally on the decline. There is a robust support for liberal values and we could observe rise in several countries, such as Finland, Denmark, Estonia and Slovenia.

HUGE DIFFERENCES IN EUROPE. Between European countries the share of attitude liberals shows large differences. Sweden achieved an outstanding result, where the share of liberals in the 2014/2015 study was 59%. In the other end we can find countries such as Lithuania and Hungary, where the ratio is 5% and 7% in the latter.

HECTIC CHANGES: If we look at the dynamics of the index on the national levels, we can see that it changes hectically, based on the domestic developments. This can be good news and bad news as well for liberal forces. Demand for liberalism can rise in the countries where it is currently on a pretty low level. But also, the attractiveness of liberal values can quickly decline in countries where liberalism seemed to perform well.

EAST-WEST DIVIDE IS VERY STRONG. East of the Sweden-Germany-Switzerland axis the ratio of attitude liberals drops significantly. Democratic experiences matter: in the societies only a few decades have passed since the democratic transition, or the transition is still in progress, the share of attitude liberals is consequently lower.

WHAT UNITES: liberty, creativity, and equality before the law. While we can find some values that are very important in overall Europe, and where Eastern, or Southern European states can be champions as well: creativity, freedom, equality before the law, and to a certain extent, pluralism. When it comes to these basic values, the overwhelming majority of societies (above 60%) are supportive.

WHAT DIVIDES: sexual and ethnic tolerance. Tolerance towards lesbians and gay, and other ethnic groups is a highly and increasingly divisive issue, with much liberal views in North-West Europe than in Central-Eastern and Southern Europe.

SOCIAL STRONGHOLDS OF LIBERALISM: youngsters. We can find higher ratio of attitude liberals among youngsters (age 18-30), higher educated people (especially with tertiary education), among residents of big cities, and higher income groups.

WEAK STATE IS NOT POPULAR. In the current era of securitization, voters are really not receptive to the idea of a smaller “watchman” state – but a bit more in Western and Northern Europe.

OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS TO LIBERAL FORCES. In the current trend of rising illiberalism, liberal forces should be more vigilant in keeping their electorate and broadening it. We propose the following general strategies for liberal political players: 1) target the youngsters; 2) focus on education; 3) focus on the general values that unite: Liberty, Creativity, Equality before the Law 4) do not push for a night watchman state, and 5) do not get disillusioned in countries where there is low demand.

METHODOLOGY

The aim of our study was to identify the share of people who support general liberal values in a broader sense: the worldview represented by most liberal political forces is in European societies. In order to receive figures, we used the freely accessible data from the European Social Survey (ESS), a comparative series of representative public opinion polls supported by the Norway Grants. We created an index based on respondent's views the ESS that are reflecting liberal values and views in the broadest sense.

The figure that we received finally is the percentage of people within the given country who share the opinions, views, and attitudes corresponding to the liberal worldview in a particular society. In the following, these individuals will be referred to as "attitude liberals" or "liberals". This methodology is similar to what Political Capital Institute used to identify the "attitude radicals" in the Demand for Right-Wing Extremism Index (DEREX).

First, we selected seven questions from the core modules of ESS¹ that measure attitudes connected to liberalism. The aimed to identify the ones that we think are forming the "common denominator" between the different forms of liberalism in Europe: Liberty (in general, and creativity as a form of freedom of thought in particular), Individualism (anti-statism and anti-authoritarianism), Tolerance and Pluralism (acceptance of people belonging to different races, having different sexual orientation or different views on the world), and Equality before the law².

After selecting these questions, we identified what answer(s) we think match liberal views from the possible responses for each of the seven questions. See table 1. for the items and the criteria for inclusion.

In the next step, we counted how many criteria the respondents met between 0 and 7. We considered a respondent "attitude liberal" if this value was at least 6, therefore, their opinion corresponds to liberal views in all seven questions or at least six of them. A respondent with 5 or less matches was not considered to be an attitude liberal. If someone's answers were missing for three or more questions, we did not evaluate their valid answers either.

The share of attitude liberals in a given country show open a society is to liberal values. This social "demand", of course is not equal to the supply side: the popularity of liberal political actors and parties. Societal demand is a necessary but insufficient precondition for the rise of a liberal party³. It is necessary because in a society where the electorate is unresponsive to the aspects of liberal ideology liberal political actors stand little chance of constructing a significant base in society. At the same time, it is in itself insufficient because societal demand for liberal opinions does not automatically lead to political supply.

Of course, this methodology is simplifying reality, and we could only work with data that was included in the questionnaire. And there is no deterministic relationship: not all attitude liberals vote to liberal parties, and not all the voters of liberal parties are liberals in their attitudes. Therefore, we can see countries where the ratio of attitude liberals is much higher than the voters of liberal parties (e.g. Germany), and countries where liberal

1 "Core module" within the ESS are the set of questions that are raised in every poll in every country.

2 Some of the questions are from Schwartz's Universal Values Scale. but we used the original items instead of following Schwartz's methodology. See the scale here: Schwartz, S. H. (1994). Are there universal aspects in the structure and contents of human values?. *Journal of social issues*, 50(4), 19-45.

3 For an overview of the political science theories on the connection between supply and demand, see Mudde, C. (2007). *Populist radical right parties in Europe* (Vol. 22, No. 8). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

TABLE 1: THE ATTITUDE QUESTIONS INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY AND THE RESPONSES IDENTIFIED AS LIBERAL

| ITEMS | QUESTION | ANSWER OPTIONS | CRITERION FOR BEING CATEGORISED AS "LIBERAL" |
|-------|--|---|---|
| #1 | Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you. Thinking up new ideas ^[a] and being creative is important to him/her. He/She likes to do things in his own original way. | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me 4. A little like me 5. Not like me 6. Not like me at all | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me |
| #2 | Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you. It is important to him/her to make his/her own decisions about what he/she does. He/She likes to be free and not depend ^[b] on others. | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me 4. A little like me 5. Not like me 6. Not like me at all | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me |
| #3 | Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you. It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them. | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me 4. A little like me 5. Not like me 6. Not like me at all | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me |
| #4 | Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you. He/She thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/She believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life. | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me 4. A little like me 5. Not like me 6. Not like me at all | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me |
| #5 | Please say to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish. ^[c] | 1. Agree strongly 2. Agree 3. Neither agree, nor disagree 4. Disagree 5. Disagree strongly | 1. Agree strongly 2. Agree |
| #6 | To what extent do you think our country should ^[d] allow people of a different race or ethnic group from most people to come and live here? | 1. Allow many to come and live here 2. Allow some 3. Allow a few 4. Allow none | 1. Allow many to come and live here 2. Allow some |
| #7 | Now I will briefly describe some people. Please listen to each description and tell me how much each person is or is not like you. It is important to him/her that the government ensures ^[e] his/her safety against all threats. He/She wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens. | 1. Very much like me 2. Like me 3. Somewhat like me 4. A little like me 5. Not like me 6. Not like me at all | 5. Not like me 6. Not like me at all |

[a] Having new ideas, with an emphasis on the creative side of having them through generating them themselves.

[b] In the sense of not having to depend on people.

[c] Freedom of lifestyle is meant, "free/entitled to live as gays and lesbians".

[d] "Should" in the sense of "ought to"; not in the sense of "must".

[e] "Ensures" in the sense of "guarantees".

voters exceed the number of attitude liberals (e.g. Estonia and Czech Republic). But with all these limitations the data we have is valid: the ratio of attitude liberal respondents is considerably higher among sympathizers of liberal parties than sympathizers of non-liberal parties.

So, the advantage of this methodology is that it provides public opinion data that is 1) compiled with profound scientific accuracy, 2) the results for countries partaking in the study are fully comparable, 3) permanent questions allow for the examination of long-term trends, 4) we used rather a strict criteria that is easy to defend methodologically 5) the final figures are easy to understand and interpret for the broader public, 6) they seem to be valid in the light of the available data.

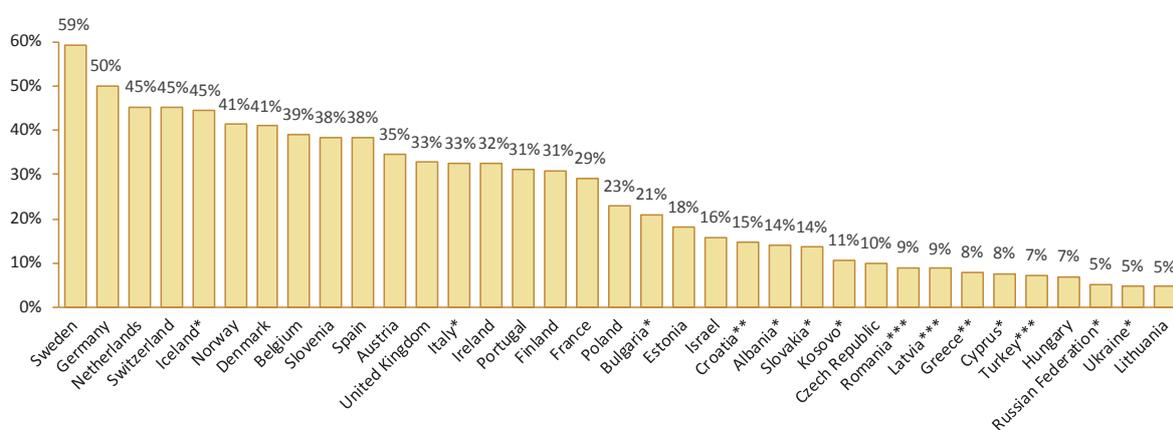
More information on the methodology can be found in the Appendix.

RESULTS

SHARE OF ATTITUDE LIBERALS IN GIVEN COUNTRIES

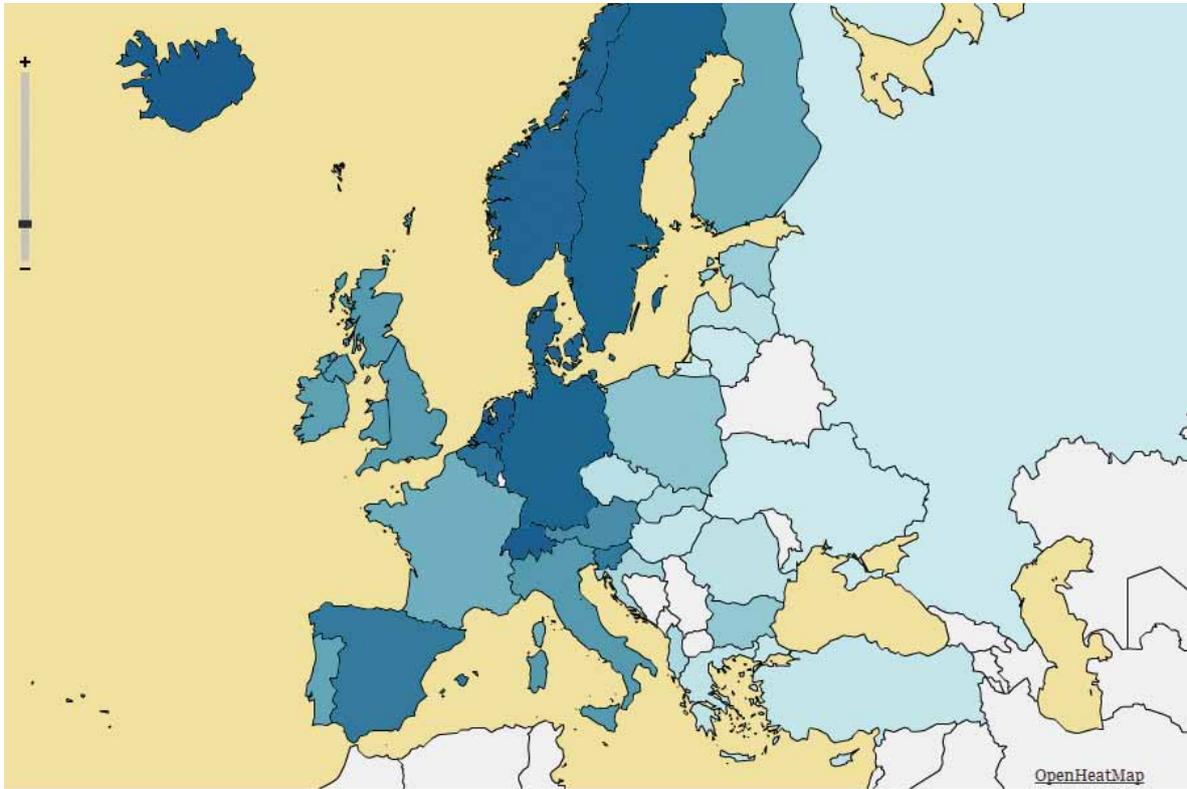
Between European countries the share of attitude liberals shows large differences (See Figure 1). Sweden shows an outstanding result, where the share of liberals in the 2014/2015 study was 59%. Several Western (mainly North-Western) European countries reached results of over 40%, such as Germany, Switzerland, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway and Denmark. They are followed in the rankings mainly by Western European countries with a long-established democratic system in place, such as Belgium and Austria. In the former Socialist block, Slovenia stands out, where the share of attitude liberals is 38% – a ratio that we can rather see in Western European countries. This value is considerably higher than of Poland, which ranks second among Eastern European countries with 23% of attitude liberals. In nine, mainly Eastern countries the share of liberals does not reach 10%. Turkey and Russia are in this group, which is unsurprising, but post-socialist EU member states such as Lithuania and Hungary also fall into this category. The measured value was only 5% in the former and 7% in the latter.

FIGURE 1: PROPORTION OF ATTITUDE LIBERALS (2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)



The East-West divide is highly visible on a map (see Figure 2 below). East of the Sweden-Germany-Switzerland axis the ratio of attitude liberals drops significantly. The democratic experiences matter: in the societies only a few decades have passed since the democratic transition, or the transition is still in progress, the figures are consequently lower. Bad habits inherited from the previous political system are still present in certain attitudes: homophobia, xenophobia and the demand for a strong state.

FIGURE 2: HEATMAP OF EUROPE BY THE PROPORTION OF ATTITUDE LIBERALS (2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)



Attitude-liberals 5.00 27.5 50.0

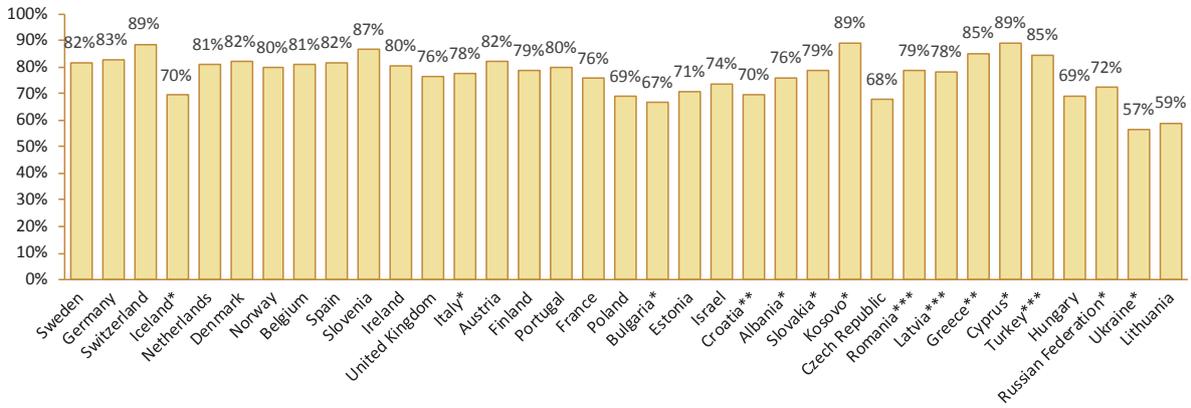
DETAILED RESULTS

We can see a very diverse picture if we go one level deeper than the index and focus on the sub-topics and specific liberal values. While we can find some values that are very important in overall Europe, and where Eastern, or Southern European states can be champions as well (Creativity, Freedom, Equality before the law, and to a certain extent, pluralism), tolerance towards Lesbians and Gay, and other ethnic groups is a highly divisive issue, with much higher figures in North-West Europe than in Central-Eastern and Southern Europe. Voters are really not receptive to the idea of a weaker state – but slightly more in Western and Northern Europe.

CREATIVITY

Creativity, following one’s own way is important for the wide majority of people, even in countries at the bottom end of the rankings of attitude liberals (Figure 3.). Interestingly, it seems that this value is even more important in Southern European and Balkan countries. 80-90% of Greeks, Turks, Cypriots, and Kosovans expressed the crucial importance of creativity. At the same time, the values in the Central Eastern European region are 15-20 percentage points lower.

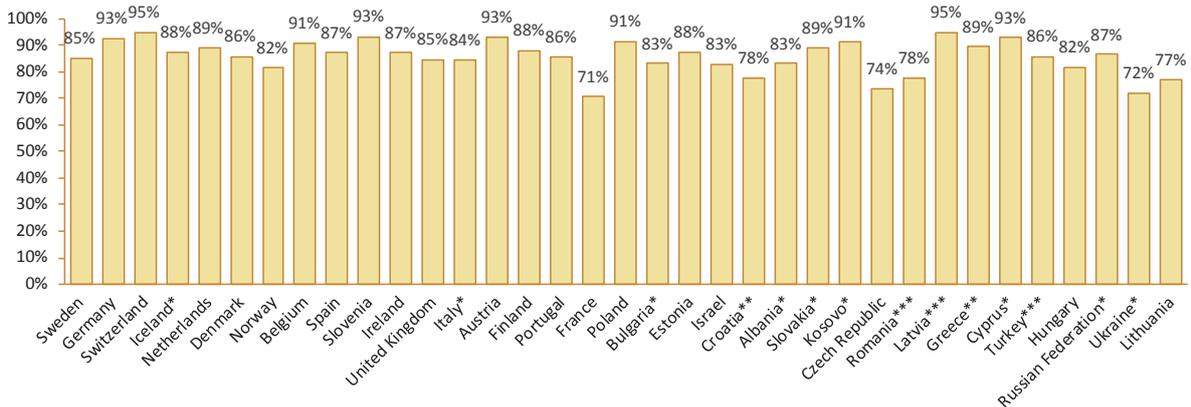
FIGURE 3: PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO THINK CREATIVITY IS IMPORTANT ⁴
(2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)



LIBERTY IN DECISION-MAKING

Freedom in making their own decisions are really strong values that almost everyone adheres to (see Figure 4). This is indicated by the high ratio of answers matching liberal values for this question. Highest shares were measured even in post-Communist countries such as Latvia, Poland, and Kosovo. Only in six (mainly Eastern European) nations is the result lower than 80%: France, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Lithuania, Croatia, and Romania.

FIGURE 4: PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO THINK LIBERTY IN DECISIONS IS IMPORTANT ⁵
(2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)



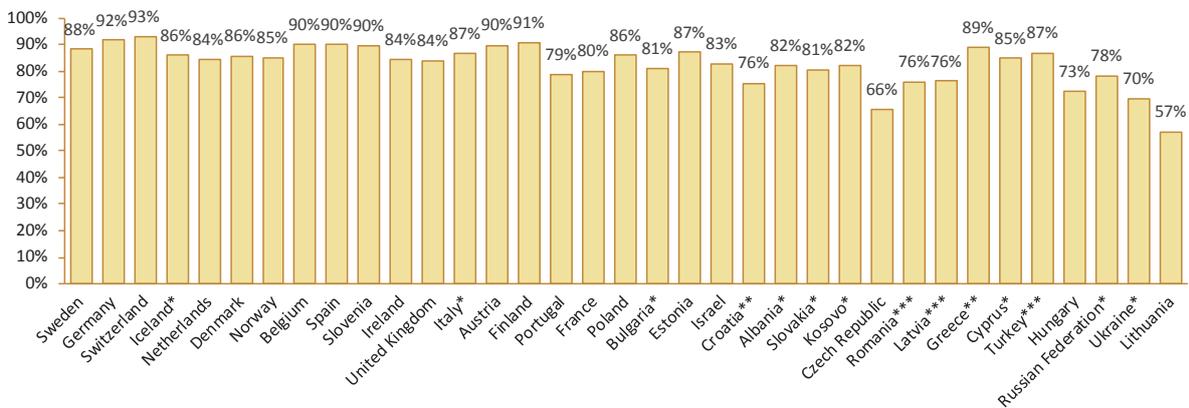
4 Original wording of the question: Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him/her. He/She likes to do things in his own original way.

5 Original wording of the question: It is important to him/her to make his/her own decisions about what he/she does. He/She likes to be free and not depend on others.

PLURALISM: UNDERSTANDING PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT VIEWS

Europeans generally consider listening to and understanding others with different opinions to be important. In 26 countries at least eight out of ten people were on this opinion (see Figure 5). Some countries are outliers, where we can find lower levels of political tolerance. In Lithuania only 57%, in the Czech Republic only 66% of the people think that listening to people with different views is important. The highest figures can be found in the most developed western and Nordic countries such as Germany, Switzerland and Finland.

FIGURE 5: PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO THINK UNDERSTANDING PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT VIEWS IS IMPORTANT ⁶
(2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)

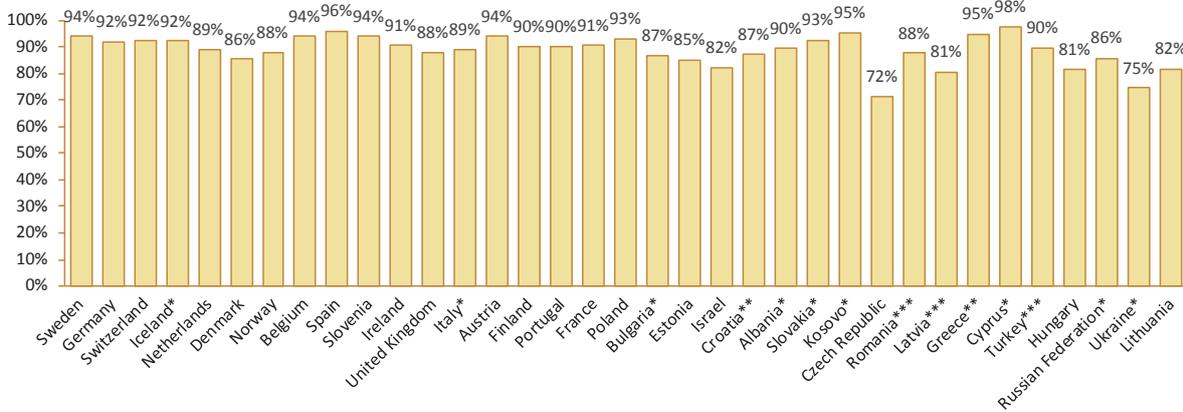


EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

The importance of the principle of providing equal opportunities is also popular across Europe. Our criterion was met by more than 80% of respondents (see Figure 6). While in the most developed Western and Northern countries such as Sweden we can see figures above 90%, we also identified very high figures in some Central Eastern and Southern countries such as Cyprus, Greece, Slovakia, or Poland. Only in the Czech Republic and Ukraine we could see lower ratios (72 and 75%, respectively).

⁶ Original wording of the question: It is important to him/her to listen to people who are different from him/her. Even when he/she disagrees with them, he/she still wants to understand them.

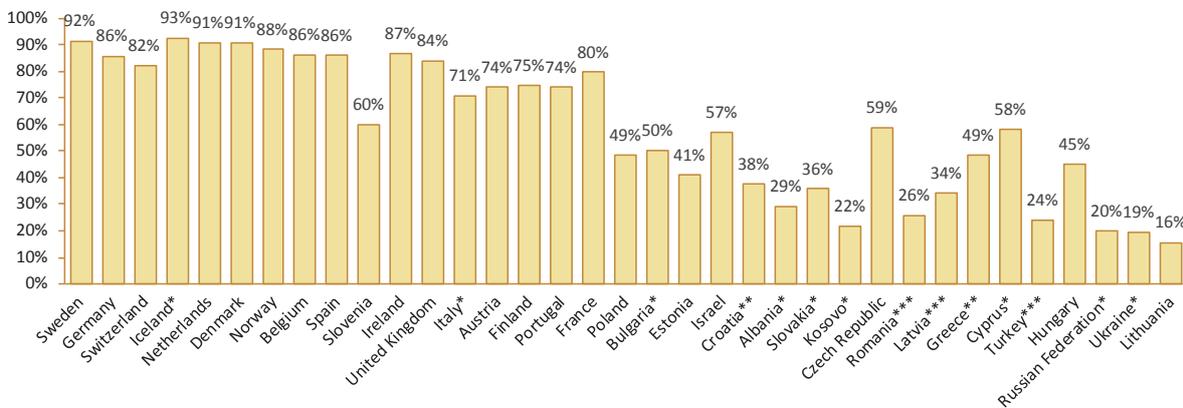
FIGURE 6: PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO THINK EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW IS IMPORTANT ⁷
(2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)



SEXUAL TOLERANCE

While so far we could see only smaller differences between member states, societies' relations to gay men and lesbians is a serious dividing line in European societies. While in developed Western and Northern democracies the overwhelming majority of respondents think that gays and lesbians should live their life as they wish, the share of liberal opinions in this issue decreases gradually moving Eastwards (see Figure 7). The most liberal countries in this regard are Sweden, Iceland, Netherlands and Denmark, with figures above 90%. The post-Socialist region's leader in terms of the share of attitude liberals, Slovenia, is lagging much behind Western societies in this regard with 60% sexually tolerant citizens. Nonetheless, this country is still the most tolerant among Eastern countries. The lowest levels of tolerance among EU member states were measured in Lithuania (16%), Romania (26%) and Latvia (34%). In the non-EU member countries, especially the East and Southeast (Ukraine, Russia, Turkey, Kosovo) the population is generally intolerant of gays and lesbians.

FIGURE 7: PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO ARE TOLERANT TOWARDS GAY AND LESBIANS
(2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)

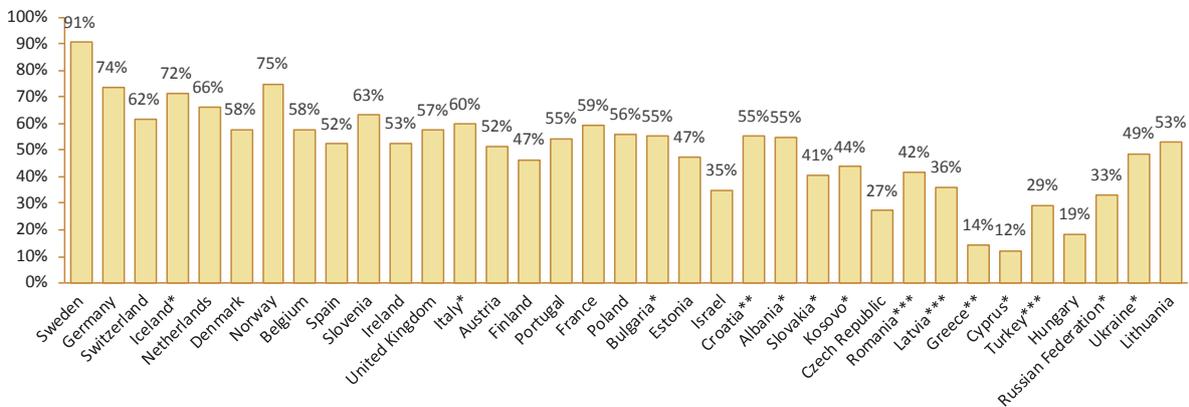


⁷ Original wording of the question: He/She thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He/She believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life.

ETHNIC TOLERANCE

The most divisive is unquestionably the ethnical and racial issue. Largest differences between European societies are present in welcoming immigrants belonging to a race other than that of the majority of society (see Figure 8). The share of those who are ethnically tolerant falls between 12 to 90% (see Figure 8). The large refugee wave starting in 2015 led to significant changes in attitudes related to migration and further contributed to the polarization⁸. Notably, it is exactly the most popular EU member target countries, Germany and Sweden, where tolerant respondents are present in the highest ratio (91 and 74%). In contrast, the value is incredibly low in Hungary, only 19% which is only a transit country and not a target country for refugees, and rather sending, but not receiving migrants.

FIGURE 8. PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO ARE LIBERAL TO OTHER ETHNIC AND RACIAL GROUPS, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)

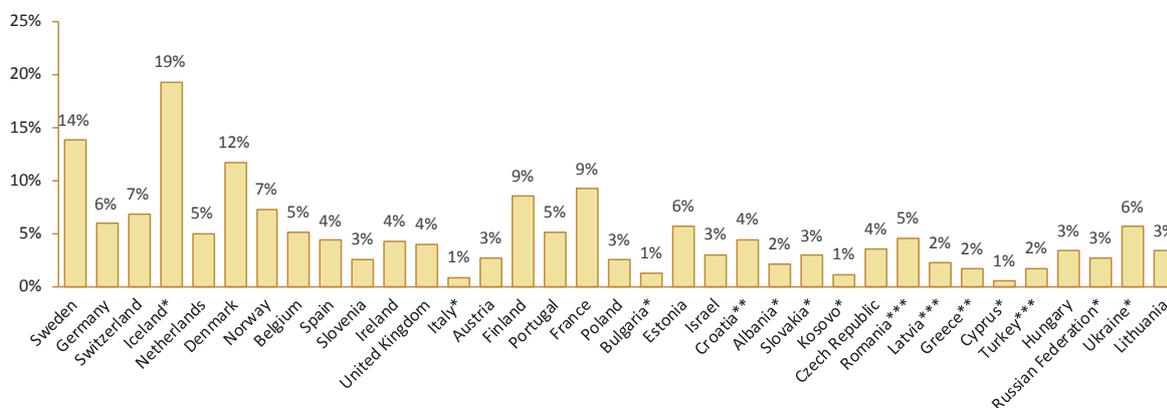


ANTI-STATISM AND ANTI-AUTHORITARIANISM

The demand for a strong state providing security to its citizens is very strong in European societies. Consequently, the share of those we consider liberal in this respect – who would prefer the state to have a smaller role and intervene less in societies – is really low (See Figure 9). The high demand for a strong state allows populist, illiberal political actors to exploit this attitude by amplifying fears in society and use this to increase their popularity and implement measures that would be hardly acceptable under normal circumstances. We can find the most tolerant views in Northern countries. The ratio of respondents who meet the liberal criterion was 19% in Iceland, 14% in Sweden, and 12% in Denmark. In Eastern Europe, these figures were low everywhere.

8 The date of the ESS survey's data collection is important for this item. Information on the fieldwork periods can be found in the appendix

FIGURE 9: PROPORTION OF THOSE WHO REJECT THE STRONG, BIG STATE ⁹
(2014/2015 OR LATEST AVAILABLE DATA, *2012/2013, **2010/2011, ***2008/2009)



WHO ARE ATTITUDE LIBERALS? SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

In which societal groups are attitude liberals over- or underrepresented? Generally, regarding the most important socio-demographic variables such as gender, age, highest level of education attained, size of settlement, we find much more similarities in societies than differences.

There are in general no significant variation between men and women, the ratio of liberals is almost the same in the both groups. One of the few exceptions is Spain, where the ratio of liberals is higher among men than women. At the same time, in the Czech Republic and Finland this indicator is higher among women.

Attitude liberals are overrepresented among young groups (age 18-30), and underrepresented among those over 65 years of age. The latter is true for every country that was surveyed in the last wave of ESS. In some other countries attitude liberals are not only overrepresented in the youngest age group, but among the mid-aged as well: Estonia, Finland, Germany, Sweden, and the United Kingdom.

The higher the level of education attained by an individual is, the higher the ratio of attitude liberals. We find the most attitude liberals among those who finished tertiary education. Non-liberals are overrepresented in the group of people whose highest level of education attained is elementary school or lower.

In most countries, attitude liberals are present in cities in higher ratio, while the representation of the liberal worldview is less typical among those living in villages and smaller settlements.

The better financial situation ¹⁰ of households raises the ratio of attitude liberals in almost all countries. We find more attitude liberals among those who live comfortably on the present income of their household, and vice versa. Liberal attitudes are the least prevalent among people who find it difficult, or very difficult to live on present income.

⁹ Original wording of the question: It is important to him/her that the government ensures his/her safety against all threats. He/She wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.

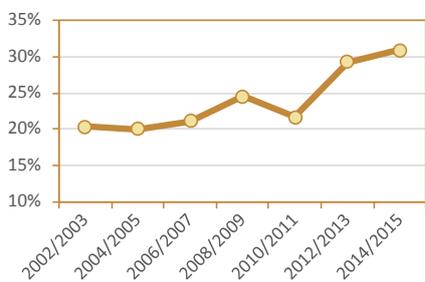
¹⁰ The original question was: Which of the descriptions on this card comes closest to how you feel about your household's income nowadays? The answer options were (1) Living comfortably on present income, (2) Coping on present income, (3) Finding it difficult on present income, (4) Finding it very difficult on present income.

COUNTRY CASE STUDIES

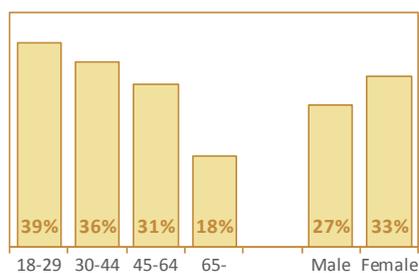
In the following, we will give a more detailed picture of a selection of countries, such as information on changes in the share of attitude liberals between 2002 and 2015, and on which societal groups liberals are over- or underrepresented in. We focus on countries where the presence and role of liberal parties is significant, and the ones that were included in the most recent, seventh wave of ESS (2014-2015) to be as up-to-date as possible.

FINLAND

Between 2002 and 2011, the share of attitude liberals in Finland was relatively stable, 20–25%. A significant increase came afterwards, and as a result, in Finland the ratio of attitude liberals now exceeds 30%.



The ratio of attitude liberals is higher than average among young Finns, while in older age groups, the share of liberals is decreasing in small steps. The share of attitude liberals among pensioners is only half of that among the Finnish youth. Finnish men are less open to liberal views, while among women there is an above-average number of liberals.

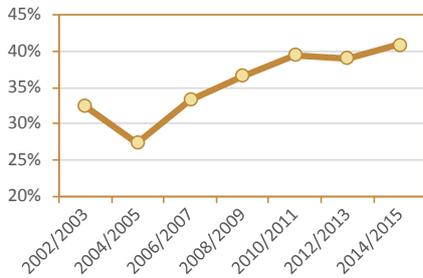


The high ratio of attitude radicals is manifested in the party preferences as well. In April 2015 the Centre Party, a member of the ALDE Group won the parliamentary elections with 21.1 per cent of the votes. As a result, Juha Petri Sipilä the leader of the party is heading the Finnish government at the moment. Another ALDE member, the Swedish People's Party of Finland (SFP) won 4.9 per cent of the votes. Currently, Centre Party and Social Democratic Party are head-to-head in the polls ¹¹ with an estimated support of 21%, while the popularity of SFP has remained unchanged. In total this adds up to a liberal voter base of approximately 26%.

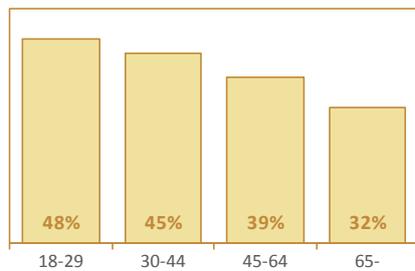
¹¹ TNS Gallup poll between 14 November – 18 December, 2016. Available online <http://www.electograph.com/2016/12/finland-december-2016-tns-gallup-poll.html>

DENMARK

In Denmark, the share of attitude liberals decreased between 2002 and 2004, but then a gradual and spectacular increase can be observed. In the past six years, the ratio of Danes with liberal opinions stood at a stable 40%, one of the highest in Europe.



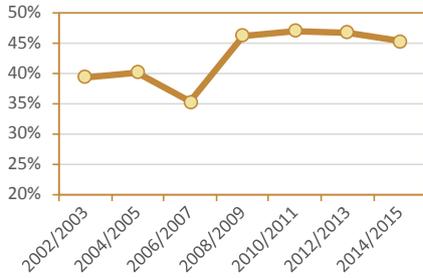
While there is a difference between the values among the oldest and youngest Danes, the embeddedness of liberal values in Danish society can still be considered relatively strong even among those older than 65. We find higher-than-average ratio of attitude liberals among city-dwellers who finished tertiary education, and less among those with elementary education living in villages. Liberal parties are performing well, reaching one-fourth of the population. In June 2015, the Liberal Party of Denmark (Venstre) came in third place with 19.5 per cent of the votes and the other ALDE-member Danish Social-Liberal Party (Radikale Venstre) gain a further 4.6 per cent. Currently Lars Løkke Rasmussen, leader of Venstre, serves as prime minister. According to recent polls¹², the popularity of Venstre is slightly lower than at the elections (17.6%), while Radikale Venstre has the same support as they had in 2015.



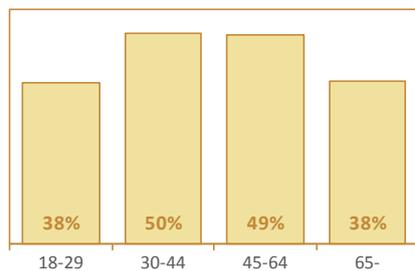
¹² Voxmeter poll between 12-18 December, 2016. Available online <http://www.electograph.com/2016/12/denmark-december-2016-voxmeter-poll-3.html>

NETHERLANDS

During the last ten years, the ratio of attitude liberals rather stagnated on a high level in Netherlands: around 45%. The lowest value, 35% was found in the 2006/2007 data collection – probably as a consequence of the murder of Theo Van Gogh.



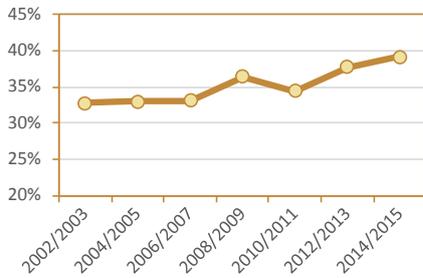
Contrary to other countries, in the Netherlands attitude liberals are overrepresented in the mid-aged group and not among the youth. Every second respondent between the age of 30 and 64 are attitude liberals. Among those under 30 and over 65 the share of those agreeing with liberal values is under the average. Among Dutch people with high school diplomas or tertiary education who live in cities, the share of attitude liberals is higher, while among those with elementary education living in smaller settlements the ratio is lower.



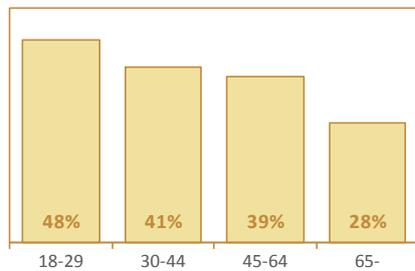
Liberalism has a strong political representation as well. Back in September 2012, People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD) won the elections in the Netherlands with 26.6 per cent of the votes. Democrats 66, the smaller Dutch member of the ALDE family won 8 per cent. As a consequence, the leader of VVD, Mark Rutte could continue on as prime minister.

BELGIUM

Between 2002 and 2007, the ratio of attitude liberals stood at a constant 33%. Afterwards, the index started to increase. As a consequence, at the latest, 2014/2015 data collection the share of liberals was almost 40% – the eight highest value among the 35 countries.

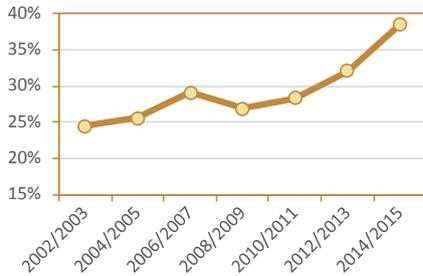


Among those between the age of 30 and 64, the share of attitude liberals is average. Among those younger than them, it is 8% higher, while among older Belgians the ratio is 10 percentage points lower. In Belgium the size of settlement does not have a significant effect on the ratio of attitude liberals, however, the highest level of education does. Similarly to experiences in other countries, the attitudes of those with tertiary education are closest to liberal values. There are two middle-sized liberal parties in Belgium. At the last the election to the Belgian Chamber of Representatives in May 2014, the two liberal parties won almost identical proportion of votes. The Wallonian Reform Movement (MR) got 9.6, while the Flemish Open VLD 9.8 per cent. The current government is led by Charles Michel of the MR party. Besides him, MR gives 6 ministers, while Open VLD, as a coalition partner assigned 2 ministers.

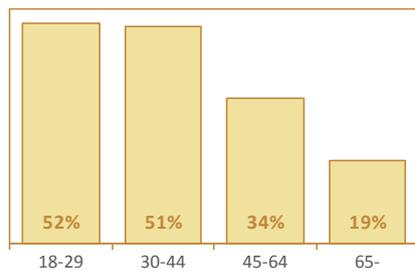


SLOVENIA

In Slovenia, the most liberal country in Central Eastern Europe, the ratio of attitude liberals has been increasing almost constantly in the last 15 years. While their ratio was only 25% in 2002, it grew to 38% by 2015. This is the largest share among Eastern European member states.



With regard to age, among respondents between 18 and 44 every second individual can be considered as attitude liberal. In contrast, within the age group 45-64 the ratio is only 34%, while among the ones above 65 years of age, it is only 19%.

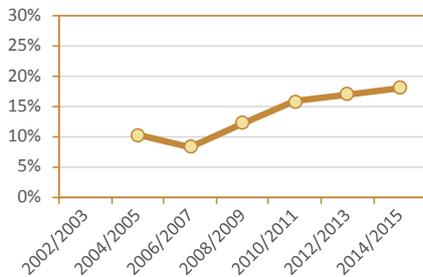


Regarding education and place of residence, we find more liberal Slovenes among those who finished secondary or tertiary education, and among those living in cities.

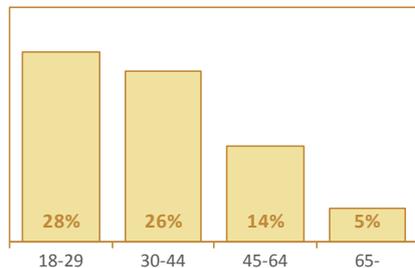
In Slovenia there is currently a three party coalition government including the Party of Modern Centre (SMC), the Democratic Party of Pensioners (DeSUS) and the Social Democrats (SD). The two largest of them, the SMC and the DeSUS are members of the ALDE. The bigger liberal party, the party of Prime Minister Miro Cerar (SMC) has only joined the ALDE after the 2014 elections, in which they won the popular vote with 34.5%. They are the leading party of the government coalition and the main liberal force in Slovenia. The other ALDE member, DeSUS won 10.2 per cent of the votes in the elections. The party assigned 3 ministers and a minister without a portfolio to the cabinet. According to the latest poll conducted by Mediana on the 24th of February 2017 the two liberal parties have 30% of popularity combined. Even though this percentage is smaller than it was on election day for the ruling party, but these two parties who are members of the ALDE are as popular as the biggest right wing conservative party (SDS) and are more popular than parties on the left (ZL, SD).

ESTONIA

In the nine years period 2006 and 2015, the share of attitude liberals in Estonia increased gradually, albeit in small steps. Currently it is 18%, which is the fourth highest value in the post-Communist bloc.



There are striking differences in age groups. More than a quarter of the youth and those between 30 and 44 can be considered liberal, which is significantly higher than the average. At the same time, among the older population and especially among those over 65 the ratio of attitude liberals is very low: 5%. As we could see in other countries as well, attitude liberals are overrepresented among those with tertiary education and those living in the countryside.

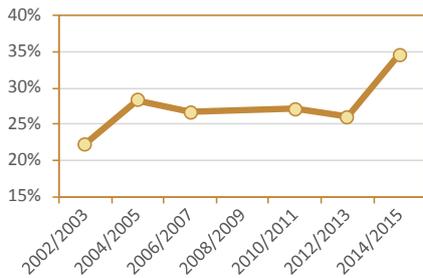


Estonia is among the rare countries where the support of liberal parties far exceeds the ratio of attitude liberals. The last general elections were held in March 2015, where the Estonian Reform Party, a member of the ALDE Group won with 28% of the votes. The Estonian Centre Party, which is also a member of the liberal family came in second with 25%. Since 23 November, 2016 Jüri Ratas of Centre Party is heading the government. The new cabinet came into power after a successful no-confidence vote against the then incumbent prime minister Taavi Rõivas of Reform Party. According to latest polls¹³, the popularity of Reform Party dropped from 28% to 20%, while now 32 per cent would vote for the Centre Party, which is by 7 percentage points higher than their election result.

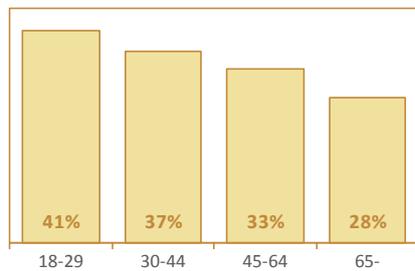
¹³ Turu-uuringute poll from 22 November – 5 December, 2016 poll.
Available online <http://www.electograph.com/2016/12/estonia-december-2016-turu-uuringute.html>

AUSTRIA

In Austria, between 2004 and 2013 the share of attitude liberals was constantly in the 26-28% range, without any significant change. However, in the last wave of ESS (2014-2015) this ratio increased significantly, to 35%. Austria participated in six ESS waves, the current value of the index is the largest figure measured in Austria in the six surveys.



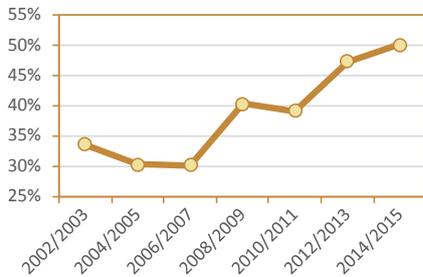
Age matters a lot in Austria: 41% of the youngest group is attitude liberal, but the ratio is only 28% among pensioners. Those with a liberal worldview are also overrepresented among people with tertiary education. In Austria, the performance of the liberal parties is weaker than the ratio of attitude liberals: in the 2013 general elections The New Austria and Liberal Forum (NEOS) won 5 per cent of the votes and 9 seats in the National Council. This was a far better result compared to the 2.1% and 0 seat five years before. According to the latest poll¹⁴, NEOS would receive 6% if elections were held today. Despite the massive rise of FPÖ, support for the liberal party has not eroded.



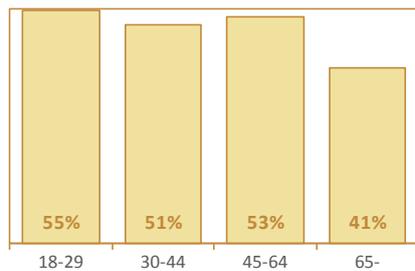
14 Market poll as of 15 December, 2016. Available online <http://www.electograph.com/2016/12/austria-december-2016-market-poll.html>.

GERMANY

The share of German attitude liberals rose from 30% in 2006 to 50% in eight years, which is the second highest result after Sweden. The only slight break in this trend was in the 2008-2010 period.



Liberal values have a strong presence in every group of society in Germany. For example, even in the oldest age group every fourth respondent met the preselected criteria. The views of those with tertiary education can be considered the most liberal.

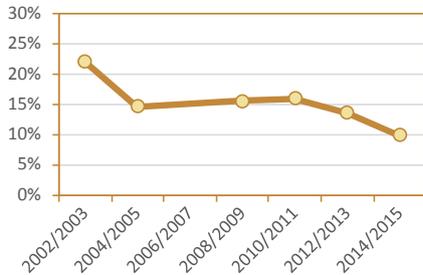


In Germany, the liberal party can make a comeback on the next election. Back in September, 2013 when the last legislative elections were held in Germany the Free Democratic Party (FDP) received only 4.8 per cent of the votes, slightly less than the parliamentary threshold of 5%. Currently the support¹⁵ for the liberal party is 6 to 7 per cent. This means that there is a good chance that the FDP will return to the Bundestag in the upcoming autumn 2017 federal elections.

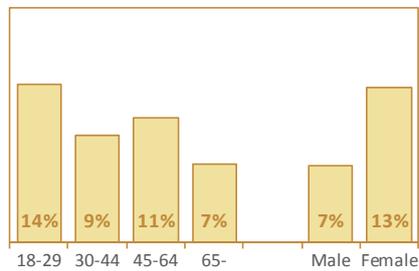
¹⁵ Forsa poll between 28 November – 2 December, 2016. Available online <http://www.electograph.com/2016/12/germany-december-2016-forsa-poll.html>

CZECH REPUBLIC

In the Czech Republic the share of attitude liberals was over 20% in the early 2000s. Today, only one in ten Czech people can be categorised as liberal, so we could observe a significant decline.



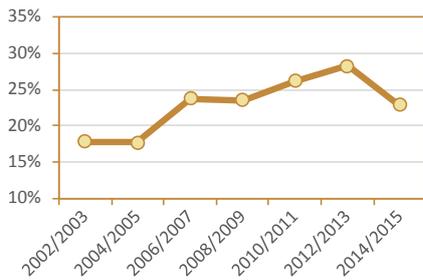
The Czech Republic is an exception when it comes to non-difference in gender: among female participants the share of attitude liberals was twice that of the ratio among men. In the oldest age group, just 7% of respondents held liberal views. The Czech results are also unique due to the highest level of education not having a significant effect; the share of liberals is similar to the average among both the highly and lowly qualified. Similarly as in Estonia, liberal political forces exceed the ratio of attitude liberals. ANO 2011 party came in second place in the 2013 general elections with 19 per cent of the votes. ANO is currently a member of Bohuslav Sobotka's coalition government, and the party assigned 6 ministers. The next elections will be held in autumn 2017. Currently ANO is the most popular party in the Czech Republic¹⁶.



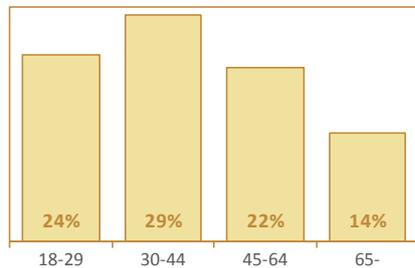
¹⁶ TNS poll between 10-27 October, 2016. Available online <http://www.electograph.com/2016/11/czech-republic-october-2016-tns-poll.html>

POLAND

Interestingly, in Poland, a country that is regarded to be highly conservative, the share of attitude liberals is high in Eastern European standards. This ratio was 18% in society until 2004. This was followed by a slow and permanent increase, which lasted until 2012/2013. The indicator stood at 28% at that time. In the 2015 survey a 5% decrease was measured. But the current 23% can still be considered a good result regionally; it is the second highest value after Slovenia's among Eastern European countries.



Compared to other countries, a unique trait of Poland is that the largest share of attitude liberals is found in the 30-44 age group. The ratio here is 30%, two times higher than in the oldest age group (above 65). Attitude liberals are overrepresented among people with tertiary education living in cities outside of the capital, while they are underrepresented among people with elementary education who live in the countryside.

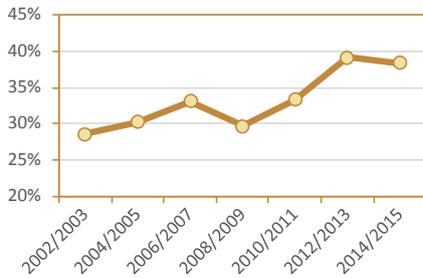


Liberal forces seem to be able to capitalise recently from the relatively high demand. The classical liberal party, ALDE-member Nowoczesna (Modern), founded in May 2015, received 7.6 per cent of the votes in the October 2015 elections. Currently Modern is the second strongest party after the governing PiS with a support¹⁷ of 20% among those eligible to vote.

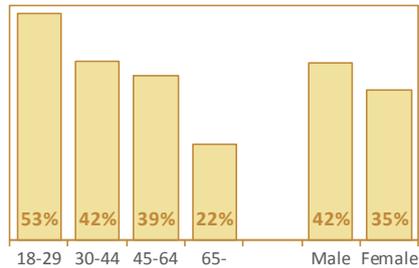
¹⁷ IBRis poll between 18-19 November, 2016. Available online <http://www.electograph.com/2016/11/poland-november-2016-ibris-poll.html>

SPAIN

In Spain, the authoritarian right wing heritage of Francesco Franco seems not to determine the society that much. Between 2008 and 2013 the share of attitude liberals grew from 30% to 39%. This was followed by a small correction in the wave for which data was gathered in the first half of 2015. Nevertheless, a significant part of the Spanish population is still receptive to liberal views.



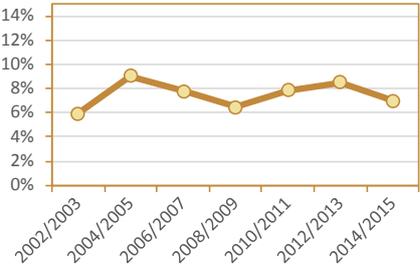
Spain is also among the few nations (together with the Czech Republic and Finland) where there are considerable differences between men and women. Contrary to the two aforementioned countries, here we can find that men are more liberal than women. There are significant differences between age groups. In the youngest group the ratio of attitude liberals is very high, in the two middle groups it is close to the average. However, among the oldest Spaniards, only every fifth (22%) can be categorised as liberal.



At June 2016 legislative elections. The Citizens – Party of the Citizenry (C's) received 13 per cent of the votes, while the other ALDE-member Democratic Convergence of Catalonia (CDC) received 2%. These two parties have 40 seats together in the 350 seat Congress of Deputies. Latest polls do not show significant changes in party preferences.

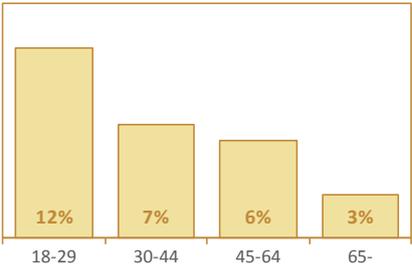
HUNGARY

The share of attitude liberals hasn't changed much in the past 12 years in Hungary – the country that is often mentioned as the illiberal champion of the region. This figure is drastically low: between 5 and 10%. According to the last figures, 7 per cent of the respondents can be categorised as attitude liberals.



Young Hungarians tend to be more prone to liberal views, while in the highest age group one can hardly find an attitude liberal.

On the current political supply side there is only one liberal actor, the Hungarian Liberal Party (MLP). MLP has one seat in the Parliament and the popularity of the party in the polls is between 1-3 % according to the polls.



CONCLUSIONS: WHAT CAN AND SHOULD LIBERAL PLAYERS DO?

The results from our study do not support the thesis that we can see a general decline of need for liberalism. While liberalism definitely became a curse-word in current populist discourses, liberal parties and liberal values are alive and well, and need for liberalism is on the rise in several countries.

At the same time, liberal forces will face difficult times in the future, as there is a general trend of rise of authoritarian, populist, security based responses, and also, a tendency to blame “liberals” for everything, from the economic problems to the immigration and refugee crisis and terrorism.

But Security will not totally overrule Liberty. Based on the results and the current global trends, and take into consideration that there is no one-size-fits-well strategy, we think the following general recommendations can be made for liberal players:

TARGET THE YOUNGSTERS. In almost all the countries, the youngest age group (below 30 years) seem to be the most receptive to liberal values. As traditionally this is the most politically passive group as well with low willingness to turn up at the elections, this is the vested interest of liberal players to reach out to this group, persuade and mobilize.

EDUCATION IS THE KEY. Given that in most countries better educated voters are more willing to vote for liberal parties, this is not only important for liberal players to target the better educated groups, but also, to push the traditionally crucially important issue of education when on government. A higher education level is not only good for the whole society and the economy, but for liberal parties as well.

FOCUS ON THE GENERAL VALUES THAT UNITE: Liberty, Creativity, Equality before the Law. Generally, values are most important in politics that many assume. While minority issues are indeed important when targeting the voters, these issues are increasingly polarising and divisive in societies, with the xenophobia on the rise in overall Europe, but especially in CEE. The best way to broaden the voter base of the liberal parties can be to focus on the core values that are generally popular: individual freedom in decisions, creativity (e.g. investing into creative industries and R&D, supporting education policies that improve creativity, etc.), and improving equality before the law. With these issues in focus, the diabolisation of liberal forces will be more difficult.

NO TIME FOR PUSH A NIGHT WATCHMAN STATE. In the current political climate, following an economic and a refugee crisis, expectations towards a strong state that provides safety and security are unquestionable. Messages focusing on reducing the scope and size of the state might resonate less to voters these times (of course, differences between countries can be important).

DO NOT GET DISILLUSIONED BY LOW DEMAND. While in Western and Northern Europe, we can see a lot of countries (e.g. Sweden, Denmark, Germany), where the ratio of attitude liberals are exceeding the ratio of liberal voters – providing a comfortable room for growth – , in Eastern Europe, demand is on a much lower level. But examples from Estonia and Czech Republic show for example that the lower demand is not a hard obstacle for growth: voters do not have to resonate to the whole package of liberal policies to vote to a liberal party. Also, as attitudes are changing hectically, the demand for improvement can be improved.

APPENDIX

1 / INFORMATION ABOUT EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY AND THE METHODOLOGY

ABOUT EUROPEAN SOCIAL SURVEY

ESS is an academically driven cross-national survey that has been conducted across Europe since 2001. Every two years, face-to-face interviews are conducted with newly selected, cross-sectional samples. The survey measures the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour patterns of diverse populations in more than thirty nations. The ESS source questionnaire consists of a collection of questions that can be classified into two main parts – a core section and a rotating section. The ESS was primarily designed as a time series that could monitor changing attitudes and values across Europe. For this reason, its questionnaire comprises a core module, containing items measuring a range of topics of enduring interest to the social sciences as well as the most comprehensive set of socio-structural variables of any cross-national survey. In each ESS Round, multi-national teams of researchers are selected to contribute to the design of two rotating modules for the questionnaire. Ever since the ESS was conceived, the principle of free and immediate access to the data for all has been an integral part of the design. This means that the ESS data are available without restrictions, for not-for-profit purposes, pending only a very simple registration procedure¹⁸.

18 See more details on the European Social Survey on its website: <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org>

2 / FIELDWORK PERIODS

THE FORMAT OF THE DATES IS DD.MM.YY – DD.MM.YY

| COUNTRY | ESS1 2002/2003 | ESS2 2004/2005 | ESS3 2006/2007 | ESS4 2008/2009 | ESS5 2010/2011 | ESS6 2012/2013 | ESS7 2014/2015 |
|----------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| ALBANIA | | | | | | 01.12.12 – 12.02.13 | |
| AUSTRIA | 02.02.03 – 30.09.03 | 06.01.05 – 25.04.05 | 18.07.07 – 05.11.07 | 01.11.10 – 28.02.11 ^[a] | 24.05.13 – 10.10.13 ^[b] | | 14.10.14 – 05.05.15 |
| BELGIUM | 01.10.02 – 30.04.03 | 04.10.04 – 31.01.05 | 23.10.06 – 19.02.07 | 13.11.08 – 20.03.09 | 11.10.10 – 06.05.11 | 10.09.12 – 24.12.12 | 10.09.14 – 01.02.15 |
| BULGARIA | | | 20.11.06 – 01.01.07 | 06.03.09 – 31.05.09 | 17.12.10 – 28.03.11 | 09.02.13 – 30.04.13 | |
| CROATIA | | | | 22.12.08 – 31.03.09 | 19.09.11 – 02.11.11 | | |
| CYPRUS | | | 02.10.06 – 10.12.06 | 29.09.08 – 21.12.08 | 01.01.11 – 21.06.11 | 01.10.12 – 31.12.12 | |
| CZECH REPUBLIC | 24.11.02 – 09.03.03 | 01.10.04 – 13.12.04 | | 08.06.09 – 08.07.09 | 20.01.11 – 08.03.11 | 09.01.13 – 11.03.13 | 24.11.14 – 09.02.15 |
| DENMARK | 28.10.02 – 19.06.03 | 09.10.04 – 31.01.05 | 19.09.06 – 02.05.07 | 01.09.08 – 11.01.09 | 20.09.10 – 31.01.11 | 10.01.13 – 24.04.13 | 12.09.14 – 17.02.15 |
| ESTONIA | | 30.09.04 – 19.01.05 | 25.10.06 – 21.05.07 | 05.11.08 – 11.03.09 | 18.10.10 – 28.05.11 | | 07.09.14 – 29.12.14 |
| FINLAND | 09.09.02 – 10.12.02 | 20.09.04 – 17.12.04 | 18.09.06 – 20.12.06 | 19.09.08 – 05.02.09 | 13.09.10 – 30.12.10 | 03.09.12 – 02.02.13 | 03.09.14 – 09.02.15 |
| FRANCE | 15.09.03 – 15.12.03 | 27.11.04 – 04.03.05 | 19.09.06 – 07.04.07 | 28.09.08 – 31.01.09 | 15.10.10 – 06.04.11 | 08.02.13 – 30.06.13 | 31.10.14 – 03.03.15 |
| GERMANY | 20.11.02 – 16.05.03 | 26.08.04 – 16.01.05 | 01.09.06 – 15.01.07 | 27.08.08 – 31.01.09 | 15.09.10 – 03.02.11 | 06.09.12 – 22.01.13 | 18.08.14 – 05.02.15 |
| GREECE | 29.01.03 – 15.03.03 | 10.01.05 – 20.03.05 | | 15.07.09 – 20.11.09 | 06.05.11 – 05.07.11 | | |
| HUNGARY | 29.10.02 – 26.11.02 | 02.04.05 – 31.05.05 | 21.11.06 – 28.01.07 | 20.02.09 – 20.04.09 | 19.10.10 – 10.12.10 | 10.11.12 – 17.02.13 | 24.04.15 – 26.06.15 |
| ICELAND | | 24.04.05 – 04.12.05 | | | | 03.10.12 – 23.03.13 | |
| IRELAND | 11.12.02 – 12.04.03 | 18.01.05 – 20.06.05 | 14.09.06 – 31.08.07 | 11.09.09 – 12.03.10 | 20.09.11 – 31.01.12 | 15.10.12 – 09.02.13 | 04.09.14 – 31.01.15 |
| ISRAEL | 15.10.02 – 15.01.03 | | | 31.08.08 – 13.03.09 | 09.01.11 – 13.06.11 | 03.09.12 – 05.03.13 | 12.09.15 – 13.12.15 |
| ITALY | 13.01.03 – 30.06.03 | 02.02.06 – 29.05.06 | | | | 01.06.13 – 20.12.13 | |
| KOSOVO | | | | | | 14.02.13 – 15.03.13 | |

[a] The fourth round of ESS in Austria was surveyed between November 2010 and February 2011, therefore we show attitude liberals scores among the results of the fifth round.

[b] The fifth round of ESS in Austria was surveyed between May and October 2013, therefore we show attitude liberals scores among the results of the sixth round.

THE FORMAT OF THE DATES IS DD.MM.YY – DD.MM.YY

| COUNTRY | ESS1 2002/2003 | ESS2 2004/2005 | ESS3 2006/2007 | ESS4 2008/2009 | ESS5 2010/2011 | ESS6 2012/2013 | ESS7 2014/2015 |
|--------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--|
| LATVIA | | | 28.06.07 – 02.09.07 | 02.04.09 – 08.09.09 | | | |
| LITHUANIA | 20.11.02 – 16.05.03 | 26.08.04 – 16.01.05 | 01.09.06 – 15.01.07 | 16.10.09 – 12.01.10 | 21.04.11 – 20.08.11 | 21.05.13 – 25.08.13 | 11.04.15 – 14.06.15 |
| LUXEMBOURG | 14.04.03 – 14.08.03 | 13.09.04 – 26.01.05 | | | | | |
| NETHERLANDS | 01.09.02 – 24.02.03 | 11.09.04 – 19.02.05 | 16.09.06 – -18.03.07 | 08.09.08 – 28.06.09 | 27.09.10 – 02.04.11 | 28.08.12 – 30.03.13 | 08.09.14 – 15.01.15 |
| NORWAY | 16.09.02 – 17.01.03 | 15.09.04 – 15.01.05 | 21.08.06 – 19.12.06 | 25.08.08 – 20.01.09 | 09.09.10 – 15.02.11 | 13.09.12 – 05.02.13 | 20.08.14 – 08.01.15 |
| POLAND | 30.09.02 – 19.12.02 | 10.10.04 – 22.12.04 | 02.10.06 – 13.12.06 | 03.11.08 – 15.02.09 | 01.10.10 – 06.02.11 | 19.09.12 – 08.01.13 | 17.04.15 – 14.09.15 |
| PORTUGAL | 26.09.02 – 20.01.03 | 15.10.04 – 17.03.05 | 12.10.06 – 28.02.07 | 09.10.08 – 08.03.09 | 11.10.10 – 23.03.11 | 24.10.12 – 20.03.13 | 02.02.15 – 30.11.15 |
| ROMANIA | | | 01.12.06 – 31.01.07 | 02.12.08 – 19.01.09 | | | |
| RUSSIAN FEDERATION | | | 18.09.06 – 09.01.07 | 08.11.08 – 09.04.09 | 24.12.10 – 14.05.11 | 10.10.12 – 27.12.12 | |
| SLOVAKIA | | 04.10.04 – 12.12.04 | 01.12.06 – 28.02.07 | 17.11.08 – 15.02.09 | 29.10.10 – 28.02.11 | 24.10.12 – 06.03.13 | |
| SLOVENIA | 17.10.02 – 30.11.02 | 18.10.04 – 30.11.04 | 18.10.06 – 04.12.06 | 20.10.08 – 20.01.09 | 20.10.10 – 31.01.11 | 01.10.12 – 31.12.12 | 09.10.14 – 01.02.15 |
| SPAIN | 19.11.02 – 20.02.03 | 27.09.04 – 31.01.05 | 25.10.06 – 04.03.07 | 05.09.08 – 31.01.09 | 11.04.11 – 24.07.11 | 23.01.13 – 14.05.13 | 22.01.15 – 25.06.15 |
| SWEDEN | 23.09.02 – 20.12.02 | 29.09.04 – 19.01.05 | 21.09.06 – 03.02.07 | 15.09.08 – 03.02.09 | 27.09.10 – 01.03.11 | 01.10.12 – 05.05.13 | 01.08.14 – 30.01.15 |
| SWITZERLAND | 09.09.02 – 08.02.03 | 15.09.04 – 28.02.05 | 24.08.06 – 02.04.07 | 30.08.08 – 17.04.09 | 02.10.10 – 23.03.11 | 01.09.12 – 22.04.13 | 29.08.14 – 20.02.15 |
| TURKEY | | 17.12.05 – 01.07.06 | | 02.11.08 – 17.05.09 | | | |
| UKRAINE | | 28.01.05 – 10.03.05 | 06.12.06 – 12.01.07 | 01.03.09 – 02.04.09 | 13.05.11 – 30.07.11 | 11.07.13 – 09.08.13 | |
| UNITED KINGDOM | 24.09.02 – 04.02.03 | 27.09.04 – 16.03.05 | 05.09.06 – 14.01.07 | 01.09.08 – 19.01.09 | 31.08.10 – 28.02.11 | 01.09.12 – 07.02.13 | 01.09.14 – 25.02.15 02.10.15 – 07.12.15 |

2 / DATA TABLE – PROPORTION OF ATTITUDE LIBERALS

IN PER CENT, ROUNDED VALUES

| COUNTRY | ESS1 2002/2003 | ESS2 2004/2005 | ESS3 2006/2007 | ESS4 2008/2009 | ESS5 2010/2011 | ESS6 2012/2013 | ESS7 2014/2015 |
|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| ALBANIA | | | | | | 14% | |
| AUSTRIA | 22% | 28% | 27% | | 27% | 26% | 35% |
| BELGIUM | 33% | 33% | 33% | 36% | 34% | 38% | 39% |
| BULGARIA | | | 18% | 17% | 19% | 21% | |
| CROATIA | | | | 16% | 15% | | |
| CYPRUS | | | 4% | 6% | 10% | 8% | |
| CZECH REPUBLIC | 22% | 15% | | 16% | 16% | 14% | 10% |
| DENMARK | 32% | 27% | 33% | 37% | 39% | 39% | 41% |
| ESTONIA | | 10% | 8% | 12% | 16% | 17% | 18% |
| FINLAND | 20% | 20% | 21% | 25% | 22% | 29% | 31% |
| FRANCE | 29% | 26% | 24% | 27% | 25% | 28% | 29% |
| GERMANY | 34% | 30% | 30% | 40% | 39% | 47% | 50% |
| GREECE | 7% | 10% | | 8% | 8% | | |
| HUNGARY | 6% | 9% | 8% | 6% | 8% | 9% | 7% |
| ICELAND | | 37% | | | | 45% | |
| IRELAND | 36% | 18% | 35% | 41% | 29% | 37% | 32% |
| ISRAEL | 18% | | | 14% | 16% | 13% | 16% |
| ITALY | 0% | | | | | 33% | |
| KOSOVO | | | | | | 11% | |
| LATVIA | | | 10% | 9% | | | |
| LITHUANIA | | | | 4% | 8% | 4% | 5% |
| LUXEMBOURG | 0% | 26% | | | | | |
| NETHERLANDS | 39% | 40% | 35% | 46% | 47% | 47% | 45% |
| NORWAY | 25% | 25% | 25% | 27% | 36% | 39% | 41% |
| POLAND | 18% | 18% | 24% | 24% | 26% | 28% | 23% |
| PORTUGAL | 20% | 15% | 15% | 17% | 18% | 18% | 31% |
| ROMANIA | | | 12% | 9% | | | |
| RUSSIAN FEDERATION | | | 6% | 6% | 7% | 5% | |
| SLOVAKIA | | 20% | 20% | 17% | 15% | 14% | |
| SLOVENIA | 24% | 26% | 29% | 27% | 28% | 32% | 38% |
| SPAIN | 29% | 30% | 33% | 30% | 33% | 39% | 38% |
| SWEDEN | 37% | 40% | 40% | 43% | 54% | 55% | 59% |
| SWITZERLAND | 44% | 43% | 39% | 44% | 42% | 43% | 45% |
| TURKEY | | 5% | | 7% | | | |
| UKRAINE | | 6% | 6% | 6% | 7% | 5% | |
| UNITED KINGDOM | 24% | 25% | 27% | 30% | 27% | 29% | 33% |

3/ ESS DATA FILES USED FOR CALCULATIONS

ESS1 integrated file edition 6.5., released on December 1, 2016. Available online at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS1e06_5&y=2002. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS2 integrated file edition 3.5, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS2e03_5&y=2004. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS3 integrated file edition 3.6, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS3e03_6&y=2006. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS3 Latvia and Romania edition 3.6, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS3LVRO&y=2006>. Last retrieved on December 1, 2016.

ESS4 integrated file edition 4.4, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS4e04_4&y=2008. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS4 Austria edition 1.2, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS4AT&y=2008>. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS4 Lithuania edition 4.4, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS4LT&y=2008>. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS5 integrated file edition 3.3, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS5e03_3&y=2010. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS5 Austria edition 1.0, released on December 14, 2015. Available online at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS5AT&y=2010>. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS6 integrated file edition 2.3, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS6e02_3&y=2012. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

ESS7 integrated file edition 2.1, released on December 1, 2016. Available online at http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/download.html?file=ESS7e02_1&y=2014. Last retrieved on December 12, 2016.

4 / SPSS CODE FOR GENERATING THE INDEX

```
/** Recoding variables into "Not liberal" and "Liberal" categories.
recode IPCRTIV (4 5 6 = 0) (1 2 3 = 1) (7 8 9 = 9) into ipcrtiv_att_lib .
recode IPUDRST (4 5 6 = 0) (1 2 3 = 1) (7 8 9 = 9) into ipudrst_att_lib .
recode IMPFREE (4 5 6 = 0) (1 2 3 = 1) (7 8 9 = 9) into impfree_att_lib .
recode IPEQOPT (4 5 6 = 0) (1 2 3 = 1) (7 8 9 = 9) into ipeqopt_att_lib .
recode FREEHMS (3 4 5 = 0) (1 2 = 1) (7 8 9 = 9) into freehms_att_lib .
recode IMDFETN (3 4 = 0) (1 2 = 1) (7 8 9 = 9) into imdfetn_att_lib .
recode IPSTRGV (1 2 3 4 = 0) (5 6 = 1) (7 8 9 = 9) into ipstrgv_att_lib .

/** Adding variable labels .
var lab ipcrtiv_att_lib "Dichotomous: Important to think new ideas and being creative (recoded into 2
categories)" .
var lab ipudrst_att_lib "Dichotomous: Important to understand different people (recoded into 2 categories)" .
var lab impfree_att_lib "Dichotomous: Important to make own decisions and be free (recoded into 2
categories)" .
var lab ipeqopt_att_lib "Dichotomous: Important that people are treated equally and have equal opportunities
(recoded into 2 categories)" .
var lab freehms_att_lib "Dichotomous: Gays and lesbians free to live life as they wish (recoded into 2
categories)" .
var lab imdfetn_att_lib "Dichotomous: Allow many/few immigrants of different race/ethnic group from majority
(recoded into 2 categories)" .
var lab ipstrgv_att_lib "Dichotomous: Important that government is strong and ensures safety (recoded into 2
categories)" .

/** Adding value labels .
val lab ipcrtiv_att_lib ipudrst_att_lib impfree_att_lib ipeqopt_att_lib freehms_att_lib imdfetn_att_lib ipstrgv_
att_lib
0"Not liberal" 1"Liberal" 9"NA/DK".

/** Count the number of variables where the respondent falls into the "Liberal" category .
count liberal_criteria_count = ipcrtiv_att_lib ipudrst_att_lib impfree_att_lib ipeqopt_att_lib freehms_att_lib
imdfetn_att_lib ipstrgv_att_lib (1) .

/** Setting cases with too many missing values on the original variables to system missing .
count mis = ipcrtiv_att_lib ipudrst_att_lib impfree_att_lib ipeqopt_att_lib freehms_att_lib imdfetn_att_lib
ipstrgv_att_lib (9) .
if (mis ge 3) liberal_criteria_count = $systemis .
execute .
del var mis .
var lab liberal_criteria_count "Number of criteria met (missing handled)" .
```

```
/** ANALYSIS: Ratio of liberals by country and essround .  
RECODE liberal_criteria_count (6 thru Highest=1) (ELSE=0) INTO attitude_liberal.  
EXECUTE.  
VALUE LABELS attitude_liberal 0'Not liberal' 1'Liberal'.  
WEIGHT BY pspwght.  
SORT CASES by essround cntry .  
SPLIT FILE by essround cntry .  
mea attitude_liberal /cell mea.  
SPLIT FILE off.
```

